

Pisidia Yazıları
Hacı Ali Ekinci Armağarı
Pisidian Essays in Honour of Hacı Ali Ekinci

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Editörler / Edited by

Hüseyin Metin – B. Ayça Polat Becks – Ralf Becks – Murat Fırat

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“HİZMETTE SINIR YOKTUR”: BURDUR MÜZESİ’NİN BAŞINDAKİ ÖZVERİLİ, İLERİ GÖRÜŞLÜ, SADIK DOST HACI ALİ EKİNCİ

1971’in Nisan ayında, doktora tez danışmanımla birlikte Güneybatı Anadolu’ya bir seyahat gerçekleştirmiştik. Antalya’dan Burdur’a dar ama güzel manzaralı bir yolda yaptığımız yedi saatlik araba yolculuğunun sonunda Burdur Müzesi’ne kapanış saatinden sonra ulaştık. Müzeye giremedik fakat otel odamdan müzenin bahçesinde bulunan, silah bezemeleriyle süslenmiş onlarca urne kabını görebiliyordum. Bunların çoğu yakındaki dağlık bölgede bulunan Sagalassos alanından geliyordu. Müze Müdürü Kayhan Dörtlük bizi sıcak bir şekilde karşıladı ve müzedeki tüm koleksiyonu ayrıntılı bir şekilde gösterdi. Bunun ardından seyahatimize Isparta’ya doğru devam ettik, oradan da sonraki sabah Sagalassos’a doğru yola düştük. O tarihte Ağlasun’a giden yol o kadar kötüydü ki 25 km kadar ilerledikten sonra tez danışmanım arabayı durdurdu, geri dönerek bizi Pamukkale’ye götürdü. Böylece, Sagalassos’u ancak 1984 yılında, Pisidia Antiokheia Antik Kenti’ndeki işini bitirmiş olan ve inceleyecek yeni bir alan arayan Stephen Mitchell’le birlikte yaptığımız bir yüzey araştırması sırasında keşfetme fırsatı bulabildim. Bu ziyaretim beni, 1985’ten itibaren S. Mitchell’le birlikte incelemeye başladığım Sagalassos’a bağlayan bitmek bilmez aşk hikayesinin başlangıcı oldu. 1989’da yaptığımız incelemelerin ardından, Burdur Müzesi Müdürü Selçuk Baser’in eş başkanlığında “Çömlekçiler Mahallesi”nde bir “kurtarma kazısı” yapmak üzere izin aldım. 1990 yılında, kendi adımla tüm alanda kazı çalışması yapma ihtimalim maalesef gerçekleşmedi, çünkü yeni izin hem Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı hem de tüm Bakanlar Kurulu tarafından imzalanması gerekiyordu.

Bununla birlikte, izin çıkana kadar bazı küçük ölçekli kazılar yapmamıza izin verildi. Bu kazılar Burdur Müzesi’nin o zamanki müdür vekili olan Ali Harmankaya ile işbirliği içinde gerçekleştirildi. Bu ilk iki yılda bazı kil ve çömlek örneklerinin kimyasal inceleme için Belçika’ya götürülmesine onay verilmişti. Sonuç olarak, 1990 yılının Ağustos ayında Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü’ne veda ziyaretim sırasında Sagalassos için kazı izni bir zarf içinde tarafıma sunuldu, böylece Türkiye’de bir kazı gerçekleştirmek konusundaki çocukluk hayalim gerçek oldu. 1991 ve 1992’de Burdur Müzesi ve o zaman müdür yardımcısı olan Ali Harmankaya ile olan mükemmel işbirliğimiz sonucunda farklı disiplinlerde incelemeler yapmak için bazı örneklerin Belçika’ya götürülmesi mümkün oldu. 1993 yılında bilim adamları, öğrenciler ve işçilerden oluşan ekibimizin sayısı 100’e ulaştı. Ayrıca projede yer alan disiplinlerin sayısı da buna paralel olarak arttı. Bu örnekler arasında çok özel arkeolojik örnekler, ham maddeler ve birçok başka çeşit numune de bulunduğundan, Belçika’ya götürülmeleri için valiliğin atadığı uzmanlardan oluşan ve Burdur Müzesi’nde toplanan bir komisyon onayı gerekiyordu. Bu komisyon, Türkiye’deki klasik arkeolojiye yönelik o dönem için oldukça istisnai olan disiplinler arası yaklaşımımızın gelişiminde önemli bir rol oynadı.

Bunun ardından, 1993 yazında Hacı Ali Ekinci adındaki yeni “müdür” Burdur Müzesi’ne atandığında, odasına ilk kez 3 Temmuz gününde kalbim çarparak girdim, çünkü Sagalassos ve çevresindeki araştırmamızın geleceğinin bu kişinin iyi niyeti ve işbirliğine bağlı olduğunun farkındaydım. Bizi samimi bir gülümsemeyle, bundan sonra daha pek çok kez göreceğimiz üzere sıcak bir şekilde karşıladı. Bu ilk ziyaret sonsuza kadar hafızama kazındı. İkimiz de bunun 21 yıllık yakın işbirliğinin ve yakın dostluğun başlangıcı olduğunun farkında değildik. Hacı Ali Bey Sagalassos Projesi için cennetten gönderilmiş bir hediyeydi ve hala öyledir. Projenin “kurucu baba”larından biridir. Gerçekten de kendisi yalnızca biz daha alana varmadan bürokratik konuları halletmek ve muhtemel sorunları çözmekle yetinmemiş, aynı zamanda projenin gelişimini her yıl izlemiş ve yurtdışında incelenecek örnekleri

değerlendiren uzmanlar komitesinin kurulması için inisiyatif almıştır. Başkalarının belki de taşın altına elini koymayacağı yeni araştırma önerilerimizi açık görüşlülüğüyle desteklemese, Sagalassos bugün Akdeniz’deki en disiplinler arası projeler arasına giremeyecekti.

Burdur ilindeki bütün kültürel mirası gözetken bir koruyucu olarak, buradaki kültürel mirası en iyi şekilde korumuş ve pek çok kurtarma kazısı yapmıştır. Sagalassos için verdiği desteği ilindeki diğer kazı ve inceleme çalışmalarına da vermiştir. Müzesinde depolanan ve sergilenen değerli eserler müzenin kapasitesini aştığında, yeni bir müze tasarlama görevini üstlenmiştir. 2006 yılında tamamlanan bu bina bahçenin ortasındaki küçük Selçuklu kütüphanesinin mimarisine mükemmel bir şekilde uymaktadır. Böylece bulduğumuz en önemli eserleri sergilemek için ihtiyaç duyduğumuz tesisleri sağlamış ve onları daha geniş kitlelere açmıştır. Belçika’daki Tongeren Gallo-Roman Müzesi 2011-2012’de Sagalassos hakkında yedi aylık bir sürede yaklaşık 150.000 ziyaretçinin izlediği sergiyi düzenlerken, cömert bir tutumla, aralarında en önemli parçaların da bulunduğu 235’i aşkın eserin müzesinden alınarak yurtdışında bu kadar uzun süre sergilenmesini desteklemiştir. Hacı Ali Bey, Antalya Koruma Kurulu’nun onayına sunulan anastylosis ve sit alanı yönetimi projelerine olan sürekli desteği sayesinde Sagalassos’un tüm ziyaretçilerin büyük beğeni ve saygıyla karşıladığı şu andaki manzara ve şehir peyzajının şekillenmesine yardımcı olmuştur.

Bununla birlikte, karşılaştığımız tüm hassas konular konusundaki profesyonel desteği ve sürekli verdiği akıllıca önerilerin yanı sıra, aramızda çok güçlü bir kişisel bağ da oluşmuştur. Kendisi benim için sadık bir “dostun” ötesine geçmiş, ailemin gerçek bir üyesi, bir Türk “kardeş” olmuştur. Onun her zaman sağlıklı ve güzel bir hayatı olmasını diliyor, önümüzdeki yıllarda daha pek çok anı paylaşacağımıza inanıyorum.

Profesör Şövalye Marc WAELEKENS

6 Temmuz 2014

**“HİZMETTE SINIR YOKTUR”:
HACI ALİ EKİNCİ, A DEVOTED VISIONARY AND LOYAL FRIEND
AT THE HELM OF THE BURDUR MUSEUM**

Professor Sir Marc WAELENS

In April 1971 I undertook a trip with my PhD supervisor. We drove for seven hours along a small but scenic road from Antalya to Burdur, which we reached after the local museum’s closing time. From my hotel room, however, I could see in the museum garden dozens of urns decorated with weaponry, many of which came from a nearby mountain site: Sagalassos. We received a warm welcome from the museum director, Kayhan Dörtluk, who took the time to show us the entire museum collection. We then continued our journey to Isparta, from where we set off for Sagalassos the next morning. However, the road to Ağlasun was so bad that after 25 km my professor halted the car, turned around and drove us to Pamukkale instead. I would not discover Sagalassos until 1984, during a scouting trip with Stephen Mitchell, looking for sites to be surveyed after the completion of our work at ‘Pisidian Antioch’. My visit stirred a never-ending love story linking me to Sagalassos, which would be surveyed by S. Mitchell and myself from 1985 on. At the end of the 1989 survey, I was allowed to carry out a ‘rescue excavation’ in the ‘Potters’ Quarter’, in co-directorship with Selçuk Baser, director of the Burdur Museum. In 1990, the prospect of a full-scale excavation carried out in my own name was not realized in time, because the new permit needed to be signed by the President and the entire Bakanlar Kurulu of the Republic of Turkey. Nevertheless, anticipating the arrival of the permit, small-scale excavations were approved. These once more took place in collaboration with the Burdur Museum, this time represented by ‘acting director’ Ali Harmankaya. The earliest export of clay and pottery samples for chemical analysis in Belgium was approved during these first two years. Eventually, during a goodbye visit to the ‘*Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü*’ on 24 August 1990, an envelope containing permission to excavate Sagalassos was handed to me, making a childhood dream of excavating in Turkey come true. In 1991 and 1992, the excellent collaboration with the Burdur Museum and Ali Harmankaya, by then ‘assistant director’, enabled an increasing number of disciplines to take samples for further analysis in Belgium. By 1993 our team of scientists, students and workmen had grown beyond a hundred individuals, whereas the number of disciplines involved in the project had increased accordingly. Since these samples now included many other materials than exclusively archaeological artefacts and raw materials, their export henceforth needed to be approved by a committee of experts appointed by the governor and meeting in the Burdur Museum. The museum thus became a crucial player in our then still exceptional interdisciplinary approach to Classical archaeology in Turkey. By the summer of 1993 a new ‘director’ by the name of Hacı Ali Ekinici had been appointed at the Burdur Museum. Keenly aware that the whole nature and scope of our research at Sagalassos and its surroundings in future years would depend on the goodwill and collaboration of this man, it was with a pounding heart that I first entered his office on July 3rd. However, he received us with his eternal smile and gave us a most warm welcome. It was as if we had known one another for many years. That first visit is forever printed in my memory. Neither of us realized that this would mark the beginning of 21 years of intensive collaboration and of a profound friendship. Hacı Ali Bey was and still is a gift from heaven for the Sagalassos Project and became one of its ‘founding fathers’. Indeed, not only did he pave the way to fulfill ever new bureaucratic requirements and solve potential

problems even before we arrived, throughout each year he also watched over the well-being of the project and always took the initiative for setting up this committee of experts scrutinizing our samples for analysis abroad. He supported whatever new type of research we proposed, whereas others might have raised their eyebrows. Without his open-mindedness Sagalassos would never have fully become one of the most interdisciplinary archaeological projects in the Mediterranean. Like a caring father, watching over the cultural heritage of the whole Burdur province, which he protected in the most efficient way and in which he undertook dozens of rescue excavations, he offered the same support to all other excavations or surveys in this province as he did to Sagalassos. When the number of valuable objects displayed or stored in his museum surpassed the capabilities of the earlier museum, he designed a new building. Completed in 2006, it perfectly matched the architecture of the small Seljuk library in the middle of the garden. He thus provided much needed facilities for displaying our most important finds and making them accessible to the wider public. In 2011 – 2012, the Gallo-Roman Museum at Tongeren (Belgium) organized an exhibition on Sagalassos, which over seven months attracted nearly 150,000 visitors. For this exhibition he most generously allowed no less than 235 objects, among which some prize artefacts, to leave his museum and its permanent display for an extended period. Through his continuous support of our successive anastylosis and site management projects that were presented for approval to ‘Antalya Koruma Kurulu’, Hacı Ali Bey also helped shape the current panorama and cityscape of Sagalassos, so much appreciated and admired by all those who visit the site. His has thus left his mark all over Sagalassos.

In addition to his continuous professional support and sound advice in whatever delicate issue, an unbreakable personal bond has been created between the two of us. Much more than a loyal friend, he has become a Turkish ‘brother’ to me, a real member of my family. I wish him continuous well-being, good health and a harmonious private life and hope we will share many moments for many years to come.

Professor Sir Marc WAELEKENS

6 July 2014

HACI ALİ EKİNCİ’NİN ÖZGEÇMİŞİ VE BİLİMSEL ÇALIŞMALARINDAN SEÇMELER

27 Temmuz 1953 yılında Adıyaman İli, Gölbaşı İlçesi, Harmanlı Kasabası’nda dünyaya gelen Hacı Ali EKİNCİ 1957 – 62 yılları arasında Harmanlı İlkokulu’nu bitirdi. 1963 – 66 yılları arasında Adıyaman Besni Ortaokulu’nu, 1967 – 70 yılları arasında Kahramanmaraş Lisesi’ni bitirdikten sonra 1971 – 75 yılları arasında Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi’nin Eski Ön Asya Dilleri ve Arkeolojisi Bölümü’nde öğrenim gördü. Fakülte yıllarından itibaren Prof. Dr. Kemal BALKAN başkanlığında yürütülen Nevşehir İli, Hacıbektaş İlçesi, Suluca Karahöyük kazılarına 4 sezon katıldı. 1978 yılında Kültür Bakanlığı’nın açtığı Müze Asistanlığı sınavını kazanarak Diyarbakır Müzesi’ne atandı. Aşağı Fırat Projesi kapsamında (Atatürk Barajı) Şehremuz Tepe, Samsat Höyük, Hayaz Höyük, Ancoz, Horis Kele, Gritille ve Tille Höyükleri olmak üzere çok sayıda kazının koordinatörlüğünü üstlendi. 1980 yılında Adıyaman Perre Antik Kenti Mozaik kazısı ve Adıyaman Besni Aşağı Söğütlü Mozaik Kurtarma Kazısı çalışmaları gerçekleştirdi. 1982 yılında Adıyaman Müzesi’nin teşhir tanzimini yaptı ve resmi törenle ziyaretçilerin hizmetine girmesini sağladı. 1982 Ekim ayında Kars Müzesi’ne Müdür olarak atandı. Kars Müzesi’nde bulunan Kazım Karabekir Paşa’ya ait Beyaz Vagon’un bakım onarımı ile yeni yerine konulması ve teşhir tanzimini yaparak ziyaretçi hizmetine sundu. Kars Müzesi’ndeki görevi esnasında Arpaçay İlçesi Peldirvan Köyü’nde bir kurtarma kazısı yaptı. 1985 yılında Mersin İli Anamur İlçesi’ne yeni kurulan müzeye müdür olarak atandı. Bu esnada Anamur Mamure Kalesi’nde ve Kalınören’de kurtarma kazıları gerçekleştirdi. 1987 yılında Mersin İli Aydıncık İlçesi Kelenderis Antik Kenti’nde Selçuk Üniversitesi’nden Prof. Dr. Levent ZOROĞLU ile katılımlı kazılar başlattı. 1987 yılında inşaatı tamamlanan Anamur Müzesi’ni ziyaretçi hizmetine sundu. 1992 yılının Ekim ayında Burdur Müzesi Müdürü olarak atandı. Burdur Müzesi’nde sırasıyla 1993 yılında Gölhisar İlçesi İbecik Köyü sınırlarında Bubon Antik Kenti kurtarma kazısı, 1995 yılında Yeşilova İlçesi Sultanpınar mevkiinde Sidikli Dere Tümülüs kazısı, 1997 yılında Burdur Merkez Kurna Köyü sınırlarında Yarım Höyük kurtarma kazısı, 1998 yılında Karamanlı İlçesi Manca Köyü sınırlarında Çeştepe Tümülüsü kazısı ve 2000 yılında aynı tümülüsün restorasyon ve çevre düzenlemesi çalışmalarını yaptı. 2001 yılında Gölhisar İlçesi Kibyra Antik Kenti içindeki kutsal yol üzerinde Gladyatör Frizleri kurtarma kazısı yaptı. 2003 ve 2004 yılları içinde Gölhisar İlçesi Yusufça Beldesi Frankalanı Mevkii’nde Erken Bizans Kilisesi ve Mozaikleri kurtarma kazısı yaptı. 2005 ve 2006 yıllarında Karamanlı İlçesi Bademli Köyü sınırlarındaki Üç Tümülüsler’in kurtarma kazısını gerçekleştirdi. 2009 ve 2010 yılları içerisinde Tefenni İlçesi Yuvalak Köyü sınırları içinde Yuvalak Tümülüsü kurtarma kazısını yaptı. Bucak İlçesi Susuz Köyü içinde 2008 yılında Ege Üniversitesi Sanat Tarihi Bölümü ile Susuzhan çevresi kurtarma kazısı ve 2013 yılında Bucak İncirhan Kurtarma Kazısı yaptı.

Kurtarma kazılarının dışında Sagalassos Kazı Başkanlığı ile birlikte 1993 yılında Taşkapı seramik fırını, Ağlasun Yazır Köyü Döldül İzi Paleolitik araştırması, 1995 yılında Ağlasun Dereköy Karain Mağarası Paleolitik araştırması, 2005 yılında Yeşilbaş Köy Düzenstepe Demirçığı yerleşimi, 2009 yılında Çeltikçi İlçesi Bağsaray Beldesi Demirli Mevkii’nde kilise yeri katılımlı kazılarını yürüttü.

2006 – 2009 yılları arasında Gölhisar ilçesi Kibyra ören yerinde Prof. Dr. Fahri IŞIK’ın bilimsel sorumluluğunda kazılar yaptı.

2006 – 2009 yılları arasında Kemer İlçesi Elmacık Köyü içerisinde Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesinden Yrd. Doç Dr. Nurfettin KAHRAMAN danışmanlığı ve Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Prof. Dr. Berna ALPAGUT'un bilimsel danışmanlığında Mastodon Fosil Kazısı'nı yürüttü.

Yürütülen kazıların yanı sıra 2001 yılında yeniden temeli atılan Burdur Müzesi Teşhir Salonu ve idare binalarının yapımını, 2004 yılında teşhir tanzim başlattı. Aynı yıl dönemin Belçika Kralı II Albert'in oğlu veliaht Prens Philippe'in ziyarette bulunduğu müzenin kısmen, 2006 yılında da tümünü ziyaretçi ve bilim dünyasının hizmetine girmesini sağladı. 2007 yılında EMYA (Avrupa'da Yılın Müzesi Yarışması)'ya müracaat ederek Burdur Müzesi'nin, Avrupa düzeyinde gezilip görülmeye değer 35 müze arasına girmesini sağladı.

Burdur Müze Müdürlüğü sırasında 2001 yılında Almanya'nın Stuttgart şehrinde düzenlenen "Troia Düş ve Gerçek" konulu sergide, sergi komiserliği yaptı. 2004 yılında İspanya'nın Barselona kentinde "Ortaçağ Akdenizi'nin Gizemleri" sergisine katıldı. 2006 yılında Türkmenistan'ın Aşkabad kentinde düzenlenen uluslararası müzecilik konferansına katılarak "Burdur Müzesi'nin yeniden Teşhir – Tanzimi" konulu konferans verdi. 2008 yılında İrlanda'nın Dublin kentinde düzenlenen EMYA yarışmasına katıldı. Yine 2008 yılında İngiltere'nin Londra kentinde British Museum'da düzenlenen İmparator Hadrian sergisine katıldı. 2010-2011 yıllarında Belçika'nın Tongeren Müzesi tarafından "Rüyalar Kenti Sagalassos Sergisi" düzenlenmesinde çalıştı.

Hacı Ali Ekinci yaptığı çalışmaları için başta Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, çeşitli Valilikler tarafından başarı ve taktir belgeleriyle ödüllendirilmesinin yanında Sagalassos Kazısı'na yardımlarının onuncu yılında 2002 de Belçika Kralı II Albert tarafından "ORDE DE LA COURONE" şövalye madalyası ile onurlandırılmıştır.

Hacı Ali EKİNCİ Burdur Müzesi Müdürü olarak çalışmaya başladığında, müzenin 1986 yılından buyana devam ettirmiş olduğu Müze – Eski Eser ve İnsan İlişkilerine konu olan "Karikatürlerle Kültür Varlıklarımız" adlı yarışmayı her yıl düzenleyerek bu yarışmayı bir gelenek haline getirdi. Bu çerçevede yarışmaya katılan eserlerin yer aldığı 5 adet karikatür albüm yayınladı. Yaptığı bu çalışma ile bu yarışmanın katılımcıları her yıl bahar mevsiminde bu yarışmayı dört gözle bekler olmasını sağladı.

Halen Burdur Müze Müdürü olarak çalışmaya devam etmekte olan H. Ali EKİNCİ evli 3 çocuk babasıdır.

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LIFE IN THE LATE ANTIQUE COUNTRYSIDE OF SAGALASSOS

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Özet

Geç Antik Dönem’de Sagalassos Kırsalında Yaşam

Bu makale Geç Antik Dönem’de Sagalassos’ta kırsal yaşam üzerine odaklanır. Çeşitli arazi çalışmaları sırasında toplanmış seramik buluntular üzerinde yapılan araştırmalara dayanan bu çalışmada etütler, Sagalassos antik kenti kazılarının ve yeni başlanmış olan arkeolojik yoğun yüzey araştırmalarının sonuçları ile ilişkilendirilmiş; ayrıca önceki yılların geniş yüzey araştırma alanları yeniden ziyaret edilerek yürütülmüştür. Makale, bölgesel elitlerin kalkınmakta olan kırsaldaki varlığı ve rolünü, köyleri ve kişilere ait toprakların merkezlerini inceler; diğer kaynaklardan ve tarihi arkaplan verilerinden yararlanarak yapılan arkeolojik yorumlama çerçevelerinin kullanımını değerlendirir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sagalassos, Arkeoloji, Geç Antik Çağ, Kırsal, Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırması

Keywords: Sagalassos, Archaeology, Late Antiquity, Countryside, Archaeological Survey

Good food, good company, good stories

This paper is about the normal things in life. Without doubt, a love for the simple life is one of the many qualities of Hacı Ali Ekinci that I have learned to appreciate the most over all the years of his inspiring directorship at ‘his’ Archaeological Museum in Burdur, Turkey. Good food, good company, good stories and jokes make Hacı Ali Bey a happy man and his capacity to share joy with all those around him could even be said to make him a rich man. Many of his funny stories relate to the epic adventures of local Turkish farmers and the village life of his fellow citizens. Down-to-earth farmer’s logic is a universal inspiration for these jokes and at the same time shows just how nice life can be when it is respectfully simple and, above all, normal.

Hacı Ali Bey’s treasuring the qualities of normality in Turkish rural life is entirely apt considering the very crucial role small villages and farms have played since the dawn of history in the development of ‘his’ Burdur region in southwest Anatolia. Since time immemorial, such rural rhythms have formed the backbone of the social, economic, cultural and cosmologic trajectories of many of these local communities. From the attestation of the first small-scale villages in the Burdur plain at the archaeological sites of Hacılar (Levels 9-6) and Kuruçay Höyük (Level 13) attributed to Late Neolithic times (6500-6100 BCE) until the 1958 documentary study of Xavier de Planhol on “*De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens. Nomadisme et vie paysanne*”, it is clear that village life has experienced many forms and undertaken many guises in the Burdur region. Yet, as a matter of fact, this way of living has always been present. Having spent most of my academic career in ancient Sagalassos, it is sobering to consider how transient the history of this city was compared to the continuity and patterns of ‘normality’ in the surrounding countryside. The many centuries of splendid urban life at Sagalassos unfolded against a backdrop of

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millennia of developing agricultural communities. To be sure, Hacı Ali Bey's funny stories notwithstanding, the seeming permanence of the qualities of rural life in this part of Anatolia should not lead to unwarranted romantic or bucolic appreciation. No doubt, the many hardships of Anatolian village life – including cold, isolation, oppressive conservatism, hunger, sickness and cycles of indebtedness – will have been as much the share of the historic Burdur peasantry as it was with Mahmut Makal's novel *"Bizim köy"* (1950). Additionally, Jared Diamond's recent popular science book on *"The World Until Yesterday: What Can We Learn from Traditional Societies?"* (2012) should serve as a source for imagining both the benign – and less so – forms of human interaction in such small-scale communities, their commonalities, and, ultimately, their value to us as archaeologists seeking to uncover important historic patterns ¹.

The Sagalassos countryside

Ever since the Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project of the University of Leuven was invited by the Turkish authorities in 1993 to help inventory sites of archaeological interest in the ancient territory of the town of Sagalassos, the project has invested time and effort in understanding the urban-rural nexus as well as the role of the countryside in regional development over time. The 2003 study by Hannelore Vanhaverbeke and Marc Waelkens on *"The chora of Sagalassos. The evolution of the settlement pattern from prehistoric until recent times"* represented the first synthetic archaeological overview of the study region, based on extensive archaeological surveying methods and their results. In the meantime, this volume has been complemented by many geo- and bio-archaeological papers related to varied aspects of nature-society interactions in the Sagalassos countryside², as well as studies on specific valleys in and around the region³. In recent years, this research, coordinated by Eva Kaptijn and Ralf Vandam, was concentrated on the Burdur plain and focused on intensive archaeological surveying techniques, sometimes in combination with sophisticated geophysical reconnaissance⁴.

This paper explores rural life in the Sagalassos study region in Late Antiquity, based on a recent re-evaluation of the associated ceramological evidence as coordinated by the author, and incorporates new intensive surveying fieldwork while revisiting results of the extensive surveying campaigns coordinated by Eva Kaptijn.

Before the Sagalassos Project became active in the region, the traditional historical evaluation saw the Pisidian countryside as densely populated. The work of Xavier de Planhol, building on his expertise as a political and historical geographer, provides a useful introduction into the historical template of the day. He considered the regional settlement pattern in Roman Imperial times to be very much similar to the one he studied in the 1950s, taking into account the preservation of funerary and public inscriptions as well as other architectural fragments within the modern villages in the region. On the nature of rural habitation he expected mud and timber vernacular architecture to have been common in Antiquity. The use of stone in rural contexts was mostly restricted to a few buildings of public or religious importance, but otherwise this building material was the preserve of the Roman urban centres. The rural settlement pattern was characterized by communities living in villages, and there were no direct indications for dispersed property management based on estate centres. Large-scale property holding, applying direct or indirect exploitation strategies based on slavery or tenancy, played a role mainly in the plains and wider intra-mountain basins, while other landholding mechanisms remain undocumented. In general, the regional countryside is considered to have participated in the commercial networks and trade circuits of the Roman Empire, offering the fruits of olive cultivation and cereals; husbandry of sheep, goats, and cattle and their associated products (milk, hides, etc.); as well as minerals like saltpetre from Lake Burdur, with the native population

¹ Further inspiration in Adams, 1978; Keydar, 1983.

² E.g. Bakker et al., 2013; Neyt et al., 2012; Duser et al., 2012.

³ Kaptijn et al., 2013.

⁴ Kaptijn et al., 2012; Vandam et al., 2013.

in control of transactions and proceeds. A degree of population movement from the inner mountains towards the flourishing coastal cities was also expected to have occurred⁵.

In the wake of the overwhelming political and military turmoil of Late Antiquity, Xavier de Planhol ascribed most negative effects to the towns of the region and the condition of their commercial networks. In contrast, he considered the exploitation mechanisms of the Later Roman countryside and its demographical structure and potential to have remained more or less intact and stable, with some indications of the continued role of large-scale landholding and even the initiation of more marginal lands at higher altitudes being brought into cultivation⁶.

Incorporating earlier reconnaissance in the countryside of Roman Sagalassos by George Bean and Mehmet Özşait⁷, during the 1990s Hannelore Vanhaverbeke was able to coordinate new fieldwork based on extensive archaeological surveying techniques on behalf of the Sagalassos Project. The aim of this was to begin reconstructing, for the first time, a synthetic and diachronic overview of the evolution of settlement patterns in the area⁸.

According to her study, as far as the Roman Imperial and Late Roman periods are concerned, not only did the territory attributed to the town of Sagalassos grow to its largest extent early in this timeframe, but this *chora* also witnessed a considerable increase both in the total number of attested sites, as well as in the amount of newly occupied sites. Strikingly, many sites were now found across the different plains of the city's territory, which would continue to be the case into Late Roman times. Although variations in settlement pattern evolution were noticeable in different pockets of the territory, the Late Roman period generally represented the moment with the highest number of sites throughout the *chora* of Sagalassos. Apart from the regional urban centre of Sagalassos, the contemporary rural settlement pattern featured villages, estate centres, rural sanctuaries, graveyards, production areas, and hilltop sites. Some villages featured signs of relative development, such as the presence of sarcophagi in the associated graveyard and remains of ashlar architecture. These elements were linked with the presence of estate-owning families, which would have invested in the embellishment of their village or their final resting places. Because no such remains could be attributed to Late Roman times, it was postulated that there had been a decline in contemporary elite involvement, or perhaps even a decline in their presence, in the countryside. Other villages appear in the record through large concentrations of ordinary artefacts, indicating that here peasants and tenants would have lived, as they could not or would not have invested in more permanent or durable materials. In general, the estate centres were also considered to have belonged to the property-owning part of society, or at least to have housed their agents, who would have worked the estates from these farmyards. Noticeably, in the territory as well as in the suburban agricultural zone immediately surrounding Sagalassos, where intensive archaeological surveying campaigns were organized, fewer estate centres could be attributed to Late Roman times, suggesting elites had retreated from these domains. Burial structures and graveyards could indicate the nearby presence of estate centres, and some were actually found in conjunction with just such sites or villages⁹. Considering that the identification and mapping of these sites resulted mostly from extensive archaeological surveying methods, no doubt the more elaborate features of the regional archaeological record will be disproportionately represented, if to an unknown degree. In other words, based on the available archaeological record, it is actually quite difficult to study the archaeology of the normal things in life and of normal people – let alone the culture of the very poor, who are a component of any society, yet unfortunately remain almost invisible archaeologically. In any case, notwithstanding these limitations, the introduction of updated archaeological research has still succeeded in altering our understanding of what the busy countryside sketched by Xavier de Planhol may actually have looked like.

⁵ de Planhol, 1958: 76-80.

⁶ de Planhol, 1958: 80-82.

⁷ References cited in Vanhaverbeke – Waelkens, 2003: 3.

⁸ Vanhaverbeke – Waelkens, 2003.

⁹ Vanhaverbeke – Waelkens, 2003: 241-247; Vanhaverbeke et al., 2004: 258; Vanhaverbeke et al., 2007: 621-626.

External factors, such as the geo-political stability of the Roman Empire and its healthy macro-economic climate, were considered as the matrix for the contemporary increase in regional site numbers and its corollary of demographic growth. The stretch of the *via Sebaste* that ran through part of the Burdur plain was the main physical translation of the policies of the central authorities in the study region, which basically resulted in the success of Sagalassos as a regional urban centre with radiating effects into its dependent countryside. The fact that there was no perceivable reduction in the rural settlement pattern during the third century CE crisis can be deemed a measure of its success. When in Late Roman times the settlement pattern grew to its densest, regional elites seem to be less visible in the countryside overall and a new emphasis on less accessible site locations is discernable, although the fact that these sites were not fortified should also be an indicator of the operational strengths of the regional socio-economic constellation. All in all, the Roman Imperial rural settlement pattern should be understood as a cohesive and articulated system directed towards the regional pole of attraction: Sagalassos¹⁰.

From the second half of the fifth century CE, site numbers in the study region started to decline, a decline experienced in all parts of Sagalassos' territory. The articulated settlement system of the previous centuries remained, but with noticeably fewer sites across all categories of size and social distinction. Two trends were noted: first, the Late Roman tendency towards locating sites at strategic positions in the terrain continued and actually intensified; and two, throughout the Roman centuries the proportion of villages increased over that of estate centres, with most villages attested in the Early Byzantine period. In this way, the effects of the overall decrease in site numbers as well as the eventual decline of the regional urban centre of Sagalassos could have been levelled out by a demographic concentration in villages, signalling processes of nucleation of population and productive potential in the countryside, which became less intertwined with Sagalassos. The latter gradually started to lose its urban character and amenities, certainly after the middle of the sixth century CE, while its suburban zone was redirected towards intensive food production for a more ruralized community. All in all, this was understood as a return to a 'normal' state of affairs, with rural villages again forming the perennial mainstay for occupants in the study region and the waxing and waning of Sagalassos as a regional urban centre treated as an episode that provided new points of focus within the countryside, but never affected its continuous function or functioning. To be sure, the extensive survey campaigns established that a considerable reduction and simplification of the regional settlement pattern took place by the middle of the seventh century CE, even if the details of this process and their sequencing in time were less well understood.

Once again, mostly external factors were brought to bear on this state of affairs, including earthquakes, increasing aridity, plague and demographic decline, unruly immigration and raids, high taxation rates and less extensive and far-reaching exchange as well as a decline in active civic participation. After the fourth century CE, the first signs of stress became noticeable, which would increase from the later fifth century CE onwards, leading to a very different town-countryside nexus after the middle of the sixth century CE and heralding the end of urbanized Antiquity in the area of study¹¹. In this way, the case of Sagalassos and its countryside is compatible with a wider discussion of Late Antique regional developments¹².

The Sagalassos countryside, reconsidered

This paper will contribute to a reconstruction of how the Sagalassos countryside functioned, not so much by exploring views on its 'normality' through the ages, but by reconsidering some of the trends summarized above, mainly as they relate to events and circumstances in Late Antiquity. These ideas build on continued research into the pottery assemblages collected during various types of fieldwork, interpolated with results of recent excavation

¹⁰ Vanhaverbeke – Waelkens, 2003: 247-265.

¹¹ Vanhaverbeke – Waelkens, 2003:285-298; Vanhaverbeke et al., 2004: 259-260; 267-268; Vanhaverbeke et al., 2007: 630-634; 641-643.

¹² Izdebski, 2013: 13-21.

campaigns at ancient Sagalassos, as well as with those of newly initiated intensive archaeological survey work, and revisiting sites discovered during previous extensive surveying campaigns¹³.

The first element to review is the presence and role of regional elites in developing and managing the countryside. As far as villages are concerned, elite presence is deduced from the presence/absence of archaeological features such as sarcophagi and monumental tombs using ashlar as building material. Additionally, the olive press weights that have been found are critical to keep in mind, even if in and of themselves they are not direct indicators of social differentiation. Although these weights indicate a certain scale of cultivation, the typology of the attested stone weights conforms to other known examples of lever and weight presses. Generally, when cash crops form a crucial part of regional economic growth and, as a result, also contribute to the portfolio of local elites, more sophisticated presses were in use, as attested in various regions of the Roman Empire¹⁴. Lever and weight presses, however, made a much more general appearance throughout the ancient world. In this context, apart from the fact that such presses need not be linked solely to processing olive oil, it is also important to consider that the attested press weights cannot be securely dated, making their (continued) use in Late Antiquity a possibility as well. Monumental tombs on the other hand are a safe indicator for the presence of wealthy families as well as sign of their ties with specific rural localities, especially as their appearance was limited in time. The same goes for sarcophagi, which, as it so happens, also indicate the presence of elites with less precision. For instance, since the sarcophagi found in the necropoleis of Sagalassos cannot all have been ordered by elite families, this allows for the possibility of somewhat more social differentiation than the simple contrast between haves and have-nots. Examples of either archaeological feature, however, were no longer erected in Late Roman times. The disappearance of newly constructed monumental tombs and sarcophagi basically followed wider fashions, unrelated to the presence/absence of well-to-do families in the countryside in Late Roman times.

Instead of focusing on funerary architecture, I would argue that it is important to introduce a new element into the discussion: church building. Of the 11 archaeological sites on the territory of ancient Sagalassos that have been reconsidered and classified as villages, and which were occupied during Late Antiquity, 4 featured Early Byzantine churches, while another 5 contemporary churches were documented among architectural fragments identified in modern villages. For 2 of these village churches, inscriptions were preserved mentioning the local deacons as the source of funding. In general, for most villages within the territory of ancient Sagalassos, these churches represent the only monumental and public building preserved in their archaeological record, testifying to contemporary planning and investment. These need not all result from private schemes, or even from mixed public-private initiatives, but private funding should definitely be recognized as potentially playing a role to these ends.

Admittedly, it remains difficult to fully ascertain elite presence in the countryside based on the available categories of evidence and the constrained relevance of some of the latter for indicating social differentiation. However, it seems unwise to rule out altogether the presence of wealthy families in the rural village communities of the study region during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. In this respect, the role of elite or otherwise wealthy elements in villages was not to restrict agricultural management to estate landholding. In Late Antique times, as before, imperial, ecclesiastic or varying scales of private ownership continued to represent a catalyst for processes of social differentiation, resulting in mixed landowning patterns and exploitation strategies¹⁵. Contemporary Egyptian papyrological evidence, for instance, illustrated how mixed exploitation strategies were put into operation on properties held by the church, the state or private landowners of differing social importance, including peasants, taking into account the size of arable plot, the selected crop, the available labour pool, the intended market and taxation pressure¹⁶.

¹³ Kaptijn et al., 2014.

¹⁴ Marzano, 2013.

¹⁵ Decker, 2009: 28-79.

¹⁶ Hickey, 2007.

A second element to review is the role of the village as both a social unit of settlement and as a reflection of the regional economic climate. A couple of these sites were recently discovered as a result of applying intensive archaeological surveying techniques. As matters stand, most other such sites were identified from extensive surveying methods, implying that our current understanding of the representation of villages in the archaeological record for the territory of ancient Sagalassos is certainly incomplete. No doubt, archaeological remains preserved in modern villages, or even Burdur itself, to cite one example, further complicate our understanding inasmuch as these could cover and obscure predecessor settlements. This condition can only be remedied by developing a dedicated rural archaeology programme, applying specific methodologies to deal with these challenges. Of the 11 archaeological sites that have recently been reconsidered and classified as villages, most had already originated in Hellenistic times, a couple in Roman Imperial times and one in Late Roman times. All sites were occupied in Late Roman times, representing the densest pattern of occupation. According to the pottery collections of these sites, 2 villages were abandoned around the end of the fifth century CE, 5 around the end of the sixth century CE, while 4 sites contained pottery datable to the end of the seventh century CE, if not beyond. Considering the length of occupation of most sites, the presence of villages on the territory of ancient Sagalassos can be considered as an indication for a stable rural settlement pattern at the higher end of the regional site hierarchy and system, at least until the end of the sixth century CE.

This pattern actually overrules the previous proposal of a tendency towards nucleated settlement in Late Antiquity. The latter hypothesis was based on proportionally comparing as percentages the numbers of villages with estate centres in different periods. The re-evaluated data indicated, however, that the number of villages turned out to be different and on the whole stable over time. Moreover, as the variables that had attributed the archaeological sites to one class or another (e.g. village or farm, but implying statistical, descriptive classes) were – understandably in the case of extensive survey results – not defined along a continuum that could imply an observable order of variates along one or more defined dimension(s), the number of sites appear to represent the abundance of a class of phenomena at the nominal and not ordinal or another level of measurement. In other words, no typological criteria were defined according to which archaeological sites could be ordinally ranked or categorized into classes, resulting in an ungrouped frequency table of qualitative or discrete variables, which can only be counted, but not added, subtracted, multiplied or divided¹⁷. When comparing the counts of village and farm sites on which the nucleation hypothesis was built, the trend of the totals *an sich* ran fairly parallel, with a gradual increase of site numbers into the Late Roman period and the above-mentioned drop in settlements towards the end of the Early Byzantine period, which, as such, offers an alternative picture to nucleation. Furthermore, these site numbers resulted from extensive archaeological surveying work, whereas recent campaigns illustrated how some village sites were only recovered with intensive surveying methodologies. This argument applies even more strongly to the discovery of smaller sites such as estate centres. In recent years, a string of Archaic to Hellenistic rural hamlets was discovered along the Düğer Çayı in the Burdur plain, resulting from the application of intensive surveying techniques¹⁸. However, proportionally comparing different types of sites that do have not the same chance of being picked up archaeologically is best avoided.

Even if the tendency towards nucleated settlement in Late Antiquity should be discounted, villages remain an important and stable component of the contemporary settlement pattern. Taken together, more people would have resided in villages than in urbanized Sagalassos. These communities were neither autarchic nor only geared towards mere hand-to-mouth survival, neither could every villager be seen as a peasant nor be involved with such rudimentary activities alone. The detail of these villages' functioning and their constitution as a social community, however, continues to elude us. Therefore, although it is tempting to conclude on the perennial importance of

¹⁷ VanPool – Leonard, 2011: 5-11; 58-59.

¹⁸ Kaptijn et al., 2012: 144

villages in the study area along the line of Stephen Mitchell's thoughts¹⁹: *"the foundation of cities, which flourished only for a relatively brief period in the long evolution of Anatolian history, modified but did not supersede the indigenous pattern of settlement, which has, in many respects, persisted until the present day"*, caution is required when using the term village too much as a collective noun, glossing over differences in the nature and functioning of these rural communities over time. The 'normality' of regional rural ways of life within a long timeframe need not imply 'sameness'.

A third element to review includes the estate centres, which were an important factor in the documented cohesive rural settlement pattern. As mentioned above, the Sagalassos Project's rationale so far has been that the presence of farms in the valleys and plains of the territory of Sagalassos was considered a sign of Roman Imperial peace and prosperity following the more tumultuous Hellenistic centuries. Farm ownership was associated with estate management and in this sense restricted to the wealthier constituents in contemporary society. The retrieval of various finds categories, such as mosaic tesserae, marble wall veneer fragments, hypocaust tile parts and sherds of window pane, can be considered indicative of elite or affluent social strata in this respect. Following the logic of the hypothesis of the nucleation of settlement, the importance of estate centres in the Late Antique countryside appear to be in decline, associated with a waning interest on the part of regional elites in rural affairs.

Also in this case, the nucleation hypothesis requires some tactical deconstruction. Apart from the already discussed statistical aspects, the number of archaeologically identified estate centres was recently revised based on the above-mentioned revisiting of sites and re-evaluation of finds. In total, 17 estate centres can be associated with the Roman period, of which 1 was abandoned during the third century CE, 5 saw continued occupation into Late Antiquity, 2 were re-occupied in the latter period, while 9 estate centres were determined as newly originating in the Late Antique period. For sites with sufficient chronological resolution of the finds, their period of abandonment could be established for 1 site by the end of the fifth century CE, for 3 estate centres by the end of the next century, for 2 others in the early seventh century CE and a further 6 farms by the end of the latter century. In other words, these data confirm the stability of settlement and exploitation of Sagalassos' countryside until the very end of Antiquity. Clearly, much is still to be learned about the nature and operation of these sites, as their differing sizes and configurations on the ground so far suggest that this is not a uniform site class, but could include peasant farms, rural hamlets, as well as wealthy estates, much in line with the mixed management template associated with the contemporary villages. Also in the case of estate centres, the involvement of wealthy parties seems to have continued into Late Antiquity, as exemplified by the initiation of local amphora production during the second half of the fourth century CE. This resulted from decision-making processes and investment aimed at specialisation in the productive landscape²⁰, and possibly the attested diversity of the contents²¹ implies as much in terms of agricultural production. The central part of the Ağlasun Valley, from which part of the amphora fabrics could be provenanced²², seems to have responded well to these initiatives, at least judging by the Gaussian distribution of all datable categories of pottery collected during the intensive surveying campaigns in the valley (Graph. 1).

A final element of the contemporary settlement pattern which needs to be reviewed is its suggested correlation with political and military events and conditions. In this way, founding sites in the plains and valleys of the territory of Sagalassos, as well as the appearance of isolated estate centres in the landscape, were considered important side-effects of the introduction of *Pax Romana* in the region, while the re-appearance of strategically positioned high altitude sites in Late Antiquity could have been indicative of the more unruly conditions of the time. My goal here is not to question the benign effects of lasting peace on regional development, but the discovery of Archaic to

¹⁹ Mitchell, 1993: 9

²⁰ Poblome et al., 2008.

²¹ Romanus et al., 2009.

²² Neyt et al., 2012.

Hellenistic rural sites along the Düğer Çayı is indicative that sites, even isolated ones, were already present in the Burdur plain before Roman Imperial times. Nor is this an attempt to contest signs of trouble in the Later Roman period, but the recent revisiting of mountain strongholds and the re-evaluation of their finds demonstrated that 2 high-altitude sites saw continuous occupation throughout Roman Imperial times, with indications of abandonment by the end of the sixth and the end of the seventh centuries CE respectively, whereas 1 new stronghold originated around the end of the sixth century CE and would be occupied into Byzantine times.

What this evidence seems to suggest, along with the other points brought to bear in this paper, is that the introduction of argumentation external or overarching the actual regional archaeological record should be approached with an open, but not unreserved, mind. This is not to deny the existence, role and effect of historical and environmental frameworks, but in another paper dealing with Byzantine Dark Age Anatolia and Sagalassos, for instance, I deconstructed the way the explanatory framework for the end of classical *urbanitas* at ancient Sagalassos had been made dependent on mostly external factors, or forces beyond the control of the local inhabitants. The traditional cocktail contained the Justinianic Plague possibly inducing famine, an earthquake, Arab raids and climatic deterioration, resulting in de-urbanization/ruralization and loss of productive activities. While the local earthquake, climate change and the effects of these factors on the settlement pattern and craft activity have been documented to a certain degree, in archaeological terms, factors such as plague, famine and raids are extremely difficult to demonstrate. In analytical terms, it is of crucial importance, however, not to combine these external factors, just as it remains essential to focus as best we can on how the local community continued to come up with solutions for the problems they were facing, which in the case of Byzantine Dark Age Sagalassos they clearly did²³.

The interdisciplinary track record of the Sagalassos Project on the study region has in the meantime become sufficiently comprehensive to allow for the development of narratives that are less dependent on external explanatory frameworks, as illustrated by the recent case-study in the Bereket Valley²⁴. There, palynological analysis picked up signals for the end of intensive crop cultivation during the first half of the fourth century CE and a shift towards pastoralism. Whereas this process was initially considered as resulting from external framework stresses provoking reactive change, the results of the intensive surveying campaigns indicated that it was rather the local community which started to make other choices and develop alternative economic strategies.

In conclusion, the countryside of Late Antique Sagalassos was doing well. People, or rather manpower, are everything to a pre-industrial and therefore agricultural society and economy. Although the available evidence only allows for crude demographic approximations, in a previous paper²⁵, I cautiously presented a trend highlighting differences between the second and fifth centuries CE. Mainly, the nature and the distribution of sites in the countryside seemed to suggest some demographic increase by Late Roman times. The evolution of population totals cannot be reconstructed and the link between the facts of the archaeological record and demographical reconstruction remains a difficult one. Yet even if future research should prove growth to be minimal, regional population totals seem at least not to have declined. If growth were in fact realized, this seems to have happened mostly in the rural context. This trend is not dissimilar from the evidence presented by Michael McCormick²⁶, with many regions in the Roman East having a stable or slightly increasing population, especially in these kinds of agrarian locales. This rural connection is of importance because: *“the countryside was the demographic wellspring of society, since deaths always outstripped births in pre-modern cities ... In a pre-modern economy, the extent of land farmed was the first and primordial economic fact determining food production and therefore wealth at its*

²³ Poblome, 2014.

²⁴ Kaptijn et al., 2013.

²⁵ Poblome, in press.

²⁶ McCormick, 2001: 30-38.

most basic level”.²⁷ Moreover, in the case of Sagalassos, the presumed rural population growth during Later Roman times could be combined with patterns of increased specialization in the agricultural and artisanal productive landscape²⁸. Both trends should be considered meaningful, especially in conjunction with one another, as these are preconditions for establishing the possibility for a growth in aggregate demand as well as an increase in *per capita* income²⁹. In the case of the Late Antique countryside of Sagalassos, both preconditions seem to have been fulfilled. As a result, it must already have been enjoyable to live in Sagalassos by Roman Imperial times, especially if you were rich, but Late Antiquity seems to have provided more guarantees of success for every member of society, even among the rural lifestyles Hacı Ali Ekinçi loves so much and which formed the ‘normal’, yet most crucial part of the community’s wellbeing.

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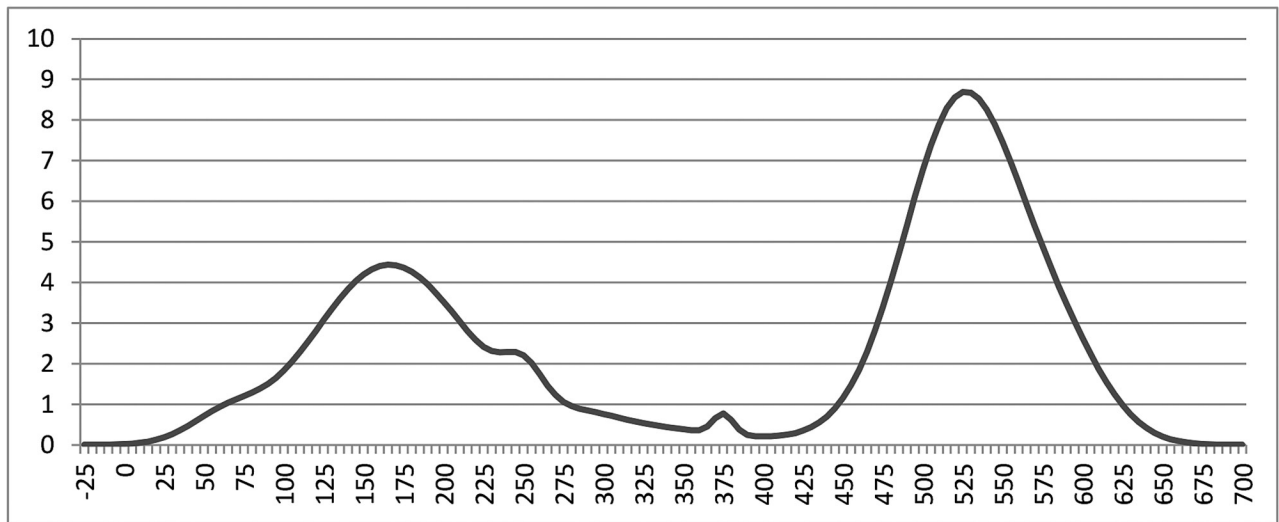
²⁷ McCormick, 2001: 31.

²⁸ Poblome, in press.

²⁹ Persson, 2010: 21-41.

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Graph. 1 Gaussian representation of the Aḡlasun Valley intensive survey pottery collection (n=1,595 sherds).

